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AN IRISHMAN'S ADDRESS

TO HIS

COUNTRYMEN

IN

LOWER CANADA:

POINTING OUT

**The mode by which the Honest Mechanics and Labourers
can procure their independence, in this, their
Adopted Country;**

WITH AN APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

EXTRACTS TAKEN FROM VARIOUS WRITERS, WHO WILFULLY
MISREPRESENT THE IRISH, IN ORDER TO RENDER THEM
OBNOXIOUS IN THE LAND OF THEIR ADOPTION.

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AN IRISHMAN'S ADDRESS

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IN

LOWER CANADA.

MY FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

However incapable I may be to discharge a duty which I have voluntarily undertaken—not through a desire of gratifying an insolent and boundless ambition, but to remedy, as far as in me lies, the evils to which we are exposed, by our folly and simplicity—nevertheless, I shall cheerfully submit to the task, under the presumption that my efforts will not fail to produce the desired effects. It shall be to me the source of much gratification, if, by any means, I may effect the removal of those obstacles, which impede our progress to the goal of independence. This I can obtain by your aid and co-operation ; but without your assistance my efforts would be vain, and my labours fruitless. I, therefore, call on you to unite with me, in accomplishing this grand and glorious object.

We are here, I may say, an infant colony, neglected and despised. Perhaps this remark is uncalled for ; if it be, I shall retract it—if not, I shall still press it, and prove its justifiableness, in the course of my observations on the relative position of Irish affairs in this our adopted country. Why did we abandon our native shores, and select this as the land of our adoption ? Was it not to ameliorate our condition, and secure our future independence ? If we, therefore, value our interest, we should leave nothing undone to maintain it.

If we value our national character, we should always show ourselves ready to support and defend it. If we show ourselves ready to support and defend it, it must be in that open, manly way, that all may be aware of our determination; and, consequently, no man will dare to asperse it with impunity. We are, as I before remarked, an infant colony. We are like little children learning to walk—we require a staff to sustain us, lest we should fall. What is this staff so necessary for our infantine existence? It is one firm and indissoluble union of Irishmen, of every rank, creed and condition. This is to be the grand and the noble prop of our existence. It is on this union we shall erect the edifice, and plant the standard of our future greatness.

By uniting, and watching over the interests of each other, we must, of necessity, become a happy and prosperous people. We will be like unto a rock in the ocean: subject to, but not to be disturbed by, the raging billows of the fathomless deep. It would appear to me that there must be something wrong in our system of doing business; for I find, and indeed it is acknowledged by all who are honest enough to give merit its due reward, we are as capable of transacting business as our fellow-citizens—still, I am sorry to say, we are not progressing in the same ratio with them, to a comparative state of wealth and affluence. I have frequently asked myself the question, why are we so backward in this particular? The cause has been traced to different sources, yet not thoroughly explored—and, in my opinion, never could, did not this axiom interfere in developing its intricacies, namely, similar causes produce similar effects. If I behold a people of a different nation, who enjoy no more advantages than we do, to exceed us in the accumulation of wealth and riches, I am at first astonished; but when I give way to reflection, and examine their relative position towards each other, I find them cemented and joined in such a manner as to make the interest of an individual the interest of all. By this union and identity of feeling they aid and assist each other—and, in time, they become a rich and powerful body.

Is it, therefore, a matter of astonishment, that they outstrip us in their career to the goal of independence?

It would appear from this, that an union of sentiment, and an identity of feeling, is an infallible mode of acquiring comfort and happiness. Happiness, indeed, is the common or universal centre, to which all animated nature is hurried by a quick and irresistible impulse. Men are formed into societies, to render its procuration more attainable. The great and small, the rich and poor, are unremittingly engaged in the laborious pursuit of it. In a word, from the most civilized citizen to the most uncultivated savage—from the palace of the lord to the hut of the beggar—the world is in one perpetual motion, to obtain this inappreciable treasure. If such are the good effects of an union of sentiment, and an identity of feeling—why, in the name of goodness, do men discard them? The reason is obvious. Through the frailty of human nature, blinded by our passions, we are frequently and imperceptibly led into the inextricable mazes of false reasoning—which obscures the intellect, destroys the judgment, and completely annihilates the power of discrimination. But do we repel the attacks of this false spirit of reasoning? No, we do not. It has always some deceptive allurements in its train, which feed the imagination with shadowy phantoms of ærial objects—which, in the mean time, can never be realized; nevertheless, we basely and effeminately lend an ear of attention to its flattery and deception.

It knocks at the door of the ambitious man, and thus speaks to his vain, ambitious soul:—There is nothing more laudable than that which extols us above all other men—but dignities and honours extol us above all other men; therefore, there is nothing more laudable than these. The ambitious man, captivated by this false reasoning, puts his ingenuity in requisition, acts on the suggestions of this base parasite, and subverts every law, and every right, to pave the way, for himself, to dignities, honours and preferments.—It adopts a different line of argument with the seditious man. It convinces him that there is nothing that becomes a brave, courageous

man more than that which exposes him to danger—but sedition and disunion expose him to danger; therefore, there is nothing more becoming than these.—It not rarely happens that the seditious man, from this perfidious sophistry, arms himself with the destructive weapons of discord, and destroys the peace and good order of society.

This accounts, in a great measure, for our disaffection and disunion, together with the evils consequent on both. Yes, we give way to a false spirit of reasoning, which, so far from checking our passions, that it only adds fresh fuel to the blaze, and carries us irresistibly to the brink of inevitable destruction.—There are, perhaps, very few amongst us, who have, at any period of their lives, suffered either in their property or character, who trace not the injury to the horrible spirit of disaffection and disunion.—Of all the evils which convulse society to its very centre, disunion is the most deplorable and ruinous in its consequences. Yes—disunion is frequently the ruin of private families, the perverter of well-organized communities, and not rarely the destruction of whole nations. It introduces the demon of discord into the private recesses of a hitherto peaceable family—and arms the son against the father, the daughter against the mother, the husband against the wife, and seals the reprobation of the one with the blood of the other.—This melancholy picture of woe, consequent on disunion, is by no means exaggerated. There is no man, who has viewed, in calm and pensive silence, the internal commotions wrought by this infernal machinery, who will not instantly subscribe to this opinion.

But I would ask you, my friends, are we exposed to these dreadful evils? Let no man tell me that we are not—every day's occurrence puts it beyond the possibility of doubt. I am well aware, the precipitate, inexorable and remorseless passions that are abroad, will combat this sentiment; and assign me, for advancing such a proposition, to the dungeon, to be chastised by those who feed and fatten on the disunion of my countrymen. But I value not—I despise both the praise and dispraise of such. Neither the applause nor the

vituperation of such vampyres will change my determination of defending the rights, and avenging the wrongs, of the labouring classes of my countrymen.

It shall be always the pride and boast of my life, to merit the attacks of tyranny and oppression, by defending innocence from their polluted touch. It is under this impression that I now come forward. Yes, under the impression that the time is at hand, when it behoves every Irishman, who has an interest in the welfare of his countrymen, to step forward, and tender them his assistance, and omit nothing that could promote their comfort and happiness. I am convinced that this is the time, and I think it would be a crime in me to conceal it, when it becomes Irishmen to look to one another. If ever, at any one period, the affairs of the province could assume a more formidable appearance than at another, it is the present. I say it would be a crime, and one of a heinous nature, to conceal from the honest labourer the real state of his condition; it would be more criminal again, to conceal from him the means by which he may protect himself from the impending danger that threatens him.

The industrious labourers, from the nature of their avocation, are easily imposed upon, and goaded on, by a brutish, ignorant set of reptiles, who know little more than the swine that grovel in the mud; deceived by these wretches, they pursue a diametrically opposite course to that which their interest points out to them. To wresk this portion of my countrymen from these direful consequences, and to inculcate the necessity of discountenancing such advisers, is the present object that I have in view; and I do assure my countrymen that nothing short of an essay, on my part, to ameliorate their present state of existence, could induce me to take up my pen, and submit my sentiments to a discerning public. To ameliorate their condition should be the chief object of our concern; but to attempt a reformation of so great importance, and which at this moment is so desirable, would prove vain in the extreme, without their aid and co-operation. Let you then, my friends, make one grand effort to burst your tram-

inels; join with me in effecting this, support me in my exertions, and we shall speedily surmount every difficulty, and safely steer our bark into the harbour of comfort and happiness. What is the assistance that I require of you? It is simply this—that you reject the base insinuations of those whose object it is to stir up disunion and contentions amongst you, that they might obtain their own ends, at your expense. You cannot be too wary of the politicians of the day. Let us guard against men who could descend to the paltry stratagem of casting the apple of discord amongst us, to render our future worse than our present or former condition. It is evident that a disunited and disaffected people can never be happy or prosperous; for while we are disaffected, we neglect the real means of our happiness, and are goaded on by the maddening spirit of resentment and revenge.

We will yet have the pleasing gratification of beholding, with eagerness and delight, the deserted haunts of our former folly rise up, and proclaim the great cause of our sudden prosperity. Sudden, indeed, will be, I hope, the transition of my countrymen to a comparative state of independence. To purchase independence, at any price, could not be dishonourable; but to obtain it without blood or money must be in itself praiseworthy. Such shall be the conditions of our conquest.

In order to obtain this glorious victory, which is to be fought and won by the united strength of Irishmen—we must, first, conquer our passions and prejudices, forget and abandon the unkindly feelings we entertain towards each other. These we can easily effect, by amalgamating ourselves into one body—forming, as it were, one happy family, united in the bonds of love and friendship. Never, perhaps, did circumstances more unite, in their demands for the establishment of an union, having for its object the mutual interest of all, but particularly the relief of the destitute and unprotected.

What can be a greater or a more noble duty than that of promoting the interest of men who are not blessed with abundance; but who labour for an honest living, and support

their little families, with the bread of industry. These are the men I admire—these are the men whose comfort and happiness we ought to consult, and whose labour and industry should be rewarded. For my part, I shall always hold myself ready to promote their interest, in every way compatible with the peace of society, and the well-being of the constitution; and I now appeal to the more influential portion of my countrymen, to assist in the grateful duty of promoting the happiness of the industrious labourers, and uniting all classes of Irishmen in one communion, to be governed and directed by one will, one mind, one heart, and one common sentiment, where the interest of any may be concerned. Could I but see this feeling amongst my countrymen, I would take on myself to forebode their future greatness.

But what is it that can bring about this change of affairs, at present so desirable? I answer, nothing but an union of my countrymen. For one, do I declare the firm and rooted conviction of my soul, that nothing but an indissoluble union of Irishmen can procure their final independence, in this their adopted country. Nothing else can reclaim, and people the deserts of the province—create confidence and affection—annihilate, for ever, the horrible spirit of religious animosity—revive industry and labour—and, in a word, disarm the heart, and enlighten the phrensy, of the misguided portion of society. I hope the day is not far distant, when the odious distinction that exists between Protestants, Catholics, and Dissenters of every denomination, will be buried in oblivion—when all will flock round the standard of union, live in the grateful affections of each other, under the benign influence of peace and concord.

I have, my friends, faintly delineated the advantage to be derived from an union so laudable in its designs—so beneficial in its effects; but my hopes seem to recoil from the difficulty, perhaps imaginary, of convincing you of the indispensable necessity of such an union. Indeed, I promise myself but very little success, in my efforts to accomplish this, while I see you lend an ear of attention to the sly insinuations of

those who would fatten on our flesh, and revel on our blood. They would drive us, as their stock in trade, to the market, and sell us, like slaves, to the highest bidder; and not only that, but they would spill our blood for their own aggrandizement. Have they not attempted to rouse us to acts, contrary to every principle of humanity, by endeavouring to infuse into our hearts' core, a spirit of disaffection towards our best benefactors, upon whom we chiefly depend for the maintenance and support of our families? But, it is very natural for you, my friends, to enquire and learn of me, to what description of men I allude. I shall satisfy your curiosity by stating, that I allude to the brawling set of politicians, who disturb the dwellings of our families; I care not whether they be English, Irish, Scotch or Canadian. This is the description of men who convert every moral principle in nature, and make the sacred name of religion the passport to the completion of their ambitious designs. These are the men I would have you look on, as the enemy of your real happiness; these are the men I would have you scout from your doors, as you would thieves and robbers. You must be unremitting in your opposition to the false and flattering policy, to which they will resort, in order to wind you into their measures. If you suffer them once to advance beyond a given point, you may then calculate on their triumph; for they will assail you in the most vulnerable quarter; and how much the more you yield, so much the more they will press on you, until they have you finally vanquished.

To illustrate this subject more fully, I shall refer you to the line of policy adopted by the Canadians, when they wish to enlist us in their service, and render us disaffected to the British government. They know we are alive to the injuries we have sustained, from the short-sighted policy of the home government; they are not ignorant of the impressions that the reminiscences of these grievances are capable of stamping on our recollection; they, therefore, conclude that this is our weak side—that it is the vulnerable point—and at this point they aim their arrows. They introduce Ireland, and

Ireland's miseries, to excite us, to a pitch of phrensy, against the opposite party. Ireland, it is true, has suffered much, and very much indeed, from misrule and maladministration. I have been loud in my denunciations of the line of policy pursued, by the British government, towards the unhappy land of my birth; and were I now in Ireland, I would renew my opposition, and persevere in it, until her grievances were removed. We are not now in old Ireland; but, I would be almost inclined to say, in young, or little Ireland; and, consequently, we have not these grievances to complain of—we have nothing, in fact, to complain of, that can affect the interest of the labouring portion of the community. I do, therefore, think, that it is both unfair and unjust for any man, or any body of men, to attempt to destroy the peace and harmony of my countrymen, by bringing to their recollection past sufferings, and opening the wounds and scars that are already healed.

If such are the intentions of Mr. Papineau and his party, I shall not have the slightest hesitation in pronouncing them ENEMIES OF IRISHMEN, AND NOT FRIENDS TO EITHER THE KING OR THE THRONE. They are not the friends of the Irish, inasmuch as they would stimulate them to acts of hostility against their benefactors; they are guilty of a breach of fidelity to their sovereign, by attempting to drive the people to a revolt, and to shake off their allegiance to their lawful monarch. How do they reason on this head? Why they say, can we but carry our schemes into operation, we shall value not the consequence; but, to carry them into operation, it will be necessary for us to gain over the Irish; and, with their assistance, we shall bear all before us, and bid defiance to all right and justice. The question now under consideration is, how the assistance of the Irish may be obtained. The difficulty of developing this great mystery would appear almost insurmountable, had it fallen to the lot of men of less powerful reasoning faculties. However, they sat in council, they gave the subject their most serious consideration; and Mr. Rodier, being cabinet counsel, drew from his particular

premises, the following sweeping conclusion :—The Irish are a credulous, ignorant race of beings, who are easily imposed on, particularly when the subject of the imposition includes the history, or rather the tales of the misfortunes and sufferings of Ireland. By representing the state of Lower Canada to be perfectly analogous to that of Ireland ; by preaching that their religious rights are about to be assailed ; that religion, in time, will be persecuted, as it has been in the Mother Country ; that government will, if not timely crushed, introduce tithes and church-cess into the province ; and that you, Mr. Speaker Papineau, are directed and governed, in all your plans, by the authority of O'Connell. Let us stuff these sophisticated arguments, as gospel truths, down their throats, and give the rabble a few dollars, to drink to beastly intoxication the oblivion of the disgrace which we are about to entail on them. Then, I say, we will be sure of their interest, at least for the present, which will be quite sufficient for our purpose.

Oh ! monstrous mode of reasoning ! how stupid and stultified must not the reasoner be, who could draw such an absurd conclusion ; I will not say from absurd premises, for that might be lawful enough, for such a logician ; but to draw a general and sweeping conclusion, from particular premises, is repugnant to the simplest rules of logic. A logician of this description is worthy of the school-boy's contempt, and must even fall under the censure of Berkeley's critical acumen.

It appears to me the man must be absolutely insane, who could thus sport with the Irish character, and make them serve ends for which they were never destined, either by nature or nature's God. Does he fancy that we are insensate monsters, who are dead to every principle of honour ! Does he imagine, base lucre and ill-gotten gain—the summit of the worldling's boundless ambition—could induce us to drink, in opprobrious oblivion, the bitter cup of our national degradation, and stamp on our foreheads the indelible mark of infamy and disgrace ? Does he suppose we have changed our principles and our nature with our clime ? Does he mean to insult a

whole nation in the person of a few ? or can it be conceived, that an insult offered to the meanest subject, on national principles, becomes a national insult. I for one maintain it does ; and as a proof, were I present when this Mr. Rodier, in the spirit of vindictiveness, declared, as his firm conviction, there should be a barrier opposed to the torrent of emigration, to prevent the pauper emigrants, as he was pleased to designate them, of my country, from infesting the shores and deserts of Canada—I would make him swallow the insult, with tears of repentance, or * * * * *

* * These are my sentiments, and such would be the sentiments of every true born Irishman, under such and similar circumstances. These sentiments I shall stand by—these sentiments I will maintain to my latest breath, and defend in the teeth of all hazard and danger.

My friends, you will excuse me for the warmth of language with which I pourtray my feelings of contempt, horror and resentment, for the men, who, divested of every principle of humanity and justice, would knowingly and willingly lead us to the brink, and, with a united effort, cast us into the precipice ; and exult at our misery. But while these men reason with us on the miseries of Ireland, they seem to forget themselves, or they are really convinced, that we are, as they represent us to be, the most ignorant of the Lord's creation. Were I allowed to address myself to the understanding of these enlightened gentlemen, I would say to them : do you recollect, my friends, that while you descant on the miseries and sufferings of Ireland, you are but recalling to our memory the reminiscences of acts the most appalling, scenes the most affecting, murders the most heart-rending, from the nature of their perpetration ; and all—all traceable to the revolutionary spirit of that country which gave birth to your illustrious ancestors.

But I shall waive every term calculated to rouse the feelings, and sharpen the resentment of my countrymen, against our Canadian brethren ; and coolly and dispassionately examine, what have they ever done to promote either the spiri-

tual or temporal interests of Irishmen. Have they encouraged Irish capital, Irish industry, or Irish talent? The clause which includes Irish capital is, on my part, what logicians call a *PETITIO PRINCIPII*, or begging of the question; for I suppose the existence of that which they deny. I suppose the existence of Irish capital—they expressly and unequivocally deny its existence; and not satisfied with its bare negation, they add infamy and insult to injustice, by branding the richest and the bravest people on the face of the world's map, with the opprobrious epithet of pauper emigrants. I say the richest and the bravest—yes, richest in virtue, and bravest in the battle's ranks. As regards the second clause, namely Irish industry, I will ask, is this industry fostered in its infancy, protected in its childish imbecility, matured and brought to a state of perfection, under the benign influence of Canadian patronage? Who, or what sort of being, responds to this query? Outraged humanity seems to claim the first privilege; and neglected poverty contends with uncultivated nature, in proclaiming to the world the absurdity of an interrogatory so vain in its notions, so foolish in its researches; as if, indeed, it could be contemplated, some centuries back, that in the nineteenth age we should behold, with wonder and astonishment, the lion and the lamb drink together, at the same fountain, in peace and concord.

As a proof that Irish industry is not encouraged by the Canadian wealth of the country, accost the first Irish servant you meet on the street, and ask him who is his employer; he will instantly tell you that he is either an Englishman, a Scotchman, an Irishman, or some other countryman—but truly not a Canadian man. Proof sufficient to convince a thousand worlds, were they in existence, how much the Canadians have our interests at heart! The third and last clause I should be inclined, for some reasons, to pass unnoticed; but the glaring manner in which the Canadians condemn this attribute of the human intellect deserves particular notice. Speaking, some short time hence, to one of my Canadian friends, I took the liberty of asking him why so few of my coun-

trymen represented, in the House of Assembly, any portion of the wealth and influence of the province? What I said he; do you mean to say that we should be ruled by rashness, ignorance and stupidity, and not by common sense. He further assured me, were I to travel Canada from one extremity to the other, that I could not find, perhaps, two Irishmen with talent sufficient to qualify them for the adequate discharge of a duty of such mighty importance to the public weal. What think you of this, my countrymen? I am sure you pity the folly of these innocent creatures. Behold, they point out three distinct disqualifications in the Irish character, namely: rashness, which is opposed to prudence; ignorance, to education; and stupidity, which is unsusceptible of the impressions of polite literature.

Oh, my country! how your sons are libelled! how the brightest gem in the British crown is robbed of its ornaments! Can I believe my senses! am I deceived! or did I ever hear such an imputation indignantly saddled on my countrymen! I am not deceived—I have heard it—and it has made an impression on my mind that can never be effaced till death seals my mortal career. Is it necessary to falsify such doctrine, and fling back the unmerited slander with scorn, and leave the foul imputations at their own door; for I find the characters of reproach, destined for my unhappy country, to suit a savage tribe with a greater degree of aptitude and exactness. They deny the existence of that talent, which is too powerful to be confined to a corner of the globe, and too brilliant to be nebulated by the misty veil of prejudice. Yes, it is too brilliant to be obscured; for, like the stars in the firmament, it casts a bright lustre over the dark night of ignorance; and, as the sun in its meridian, it shoots its rays through the universe, and warms the world with its imperishable heat.

This is a bold, yet not a forced metaphor—it is a true portrait of Irish talent. Behold it in its various gradations—accompany it, from the scholastic halls of an university, to the pulpit, the bar, or the senate—and there you will find it shine forth, with all the majesty and grandeur of nature min-

gled in its train. At one time, it is powerful and persuasive—at another, mild and engaging—its eloquence sweet and captivating; so much so, that the audience, at times, finds itself as unable to resist it as to blow out a conflagration with a mouth's breath, or to stop the river's stream with an effort of the hand. Yet, my Canadian friends have neither the candour nor justice to acknowledge this. It is evident—it is as clear as the sun at mid day—that these men value not our interest, only inasmuch as it is calculated to promote their own. For I find, by experience, whenever they can avoid an intercourse with the Irish, they avail themselves of it; but when it is their convenience to renew it, they establish it with the same facility as they dissolved it. I shall now dismiss this subject, and examine, for a moment, how our spiritual concern pendulates, in the scale of Canadian estimation.

This is a matter of such vast importance, and one of such a serious nature, that I am inclined to waive its discussion for the present, particularly as it would exceed the limits of this little work; and as I am determined to make it the subject matter of a subsequent treatise, which I shall publish, and forward to the Pope and Catholic Bishops of Europe—unless, ere then, our religious grievances be removed. I am of opinion, that the heads of the church in this province are disposed to remove, at no distant period, the inconveniences under which the Irish Catholics labour. I am also convinced that the marguillers will, with a good grace, yield to imperious necessity, and prevent the torrents of human blood which may yet deluge the land, and involve both themselves and the church in one common ruin. We know that Christians, in every age of the church, have been prodigal of their blood, in defence of religion, and their struggles to obtain those religious rights which have been unjustly withheld. Flushed with the hope that the elders of the church, the marguillers, and all others concerned, will instantly attend to the spiritual wants and comforts of Irish Catholics, I take my leave of this subject, without further comment; but be it recollected, if my hopes are not realized,

my threats shall be put in execution ; and Catholic Europe shall be called to witness the treatment of Irish Catholics in this land of liberty.

Again for the political world. I shall now enter the list with the Canadian Chief, and the would-be dictator and ruler of the province. He may be a man of parts, I grant, whose eloquence may charm me, but can never impose upon my judgment. Never shall his measures disconcert me, never his arts baffle me, nor shall I be weakened and undermined by his sophistry and abilities, however great they may be. He is a public character, and as such he is liable to public praise, or vituperation, as the merits, or demerits, of his public career through life stand in the estimation of the eye of justice. Before he is honoured by the one, or disgraced by the other, it is meet and just that his conduct should undergo the fiery ordeal of a strict, severe, yet impartial scrutiny, by which he is to stand or fall, in the scale of public estimation. I shall, therefore, enquire, what is his creed—I mean not his religious, but his political creed—and if, after a dispassionate investigation, I am convinced of its accordance with the well being of the state, and the interest of my countrymen, he shall have my warmest support.

What are his political principles ? We shall examine.—The leading and actuating, in the political world, are the democratic and aristocratic principles ; and, of course, his must appertain to either the one or the other of these. If they are democratic, they must be fashioned and formed to promote the people's interest ; but the people's interest consists not in politics—therefore, his principles cannot be truly called democratic. In the next place, they should be calculated to remove the real grievances under which the people labour ; but the people labour under no real grievance—they are free and untaxed—their importations and exportations are, comparatively speaking, free of duty ; the internal commerce of the province is facilitated by every means that a clement and well-meaning government could devise ; therefore, his principles are not democratic—wherefore, they are not for the ad-

vancement of the people's interest, and, consequently, should not be supported by the people. If aristocratic, why quarrel with men of the same doctrine? But I have discovered another class of politicians, called levellers; we shall see if his principles are not in unison with those of that sect. The levellers are men who, either through disappointed ambition, or from a sense, I say a false sense, of unrequited services, aim their ill-fated shafts at the sacred temple of the constitution, and oppose moral rectitude, for the sole purpose of opposing it. Nevertheless, they are, at times, marvellously knocked dumb, by some lucrative employment; and, in opprobrious silence, they eat the bread of oblivion, amidst the execrations of an infuriated and insulted people, who foolishly aided and assisted them in their maddening career.

Reason is loud in her denunciations of such hireling sycophants. She is candid enough to acknowledge that we have, at present, individuals amongst us, whose nature and principles, suit the descriptive character of the levelling portion of society, with a wonderful degree of aptitude. But, I am sure, Mr. Papineau! she never intended, to identify a man of your unsullied principles with this motley group. I contend, that she could not, in justice, saddle so base, so foul, a calumny on your spotless character. She, in her own defence, says, that it is but just, that every man may get the full benefit of his deserts: she invites me to examine your principles, and try if they do not merit you the appellation of leveller. The following is her argument, in which, she addresses herself personally to you. Are you not, Sir, the mouth-piece of the House of Assembly, by which it speaks trumpet-tongued to nations, and declares its mighty power by offering the gauntlet to the Mother Country? Yes, such has been the object, such the intention, of the ninety-two resolutions. I emphatically pronounce, that these resolutions, formed and fashioned to deceive the ignorant, breathe a spirit of disaffection, TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT, KING, AND CONSTITUTION. You, Sir, if not the fabricator, at least the supporter of them, must be equally disaffected, and,

therefore, you must, of necessity, belong to that class called levellers; whose chief object is, to pull down the fabric of the constitution, and erect on its ruins the bloody standard of French defection.

I am sorry, indeed, to be obliged to acknowledge the triumph of reason; she has won the victory; she impudently exults in the trophies, and uncharitably exposes them for your greater condemnation. She would, I am sure, be base enough to arraign you for defection, and convict you of high treason, had she but a shadow of hope to prompt her to the iniquitous execution.

I should not have adverted to you, Sir, or the resolutionists, did I not feel myself called on to prove, for the satisfaction of truth and justice, that you are guilty of a gross and wilful falsehood, as regards our interest in the Province. The third of your resolutions goes to prove, or at least is intended to prove, that you, Canadians, have always, and at all times, united in feeling and co-operated in sentiment with the emigrant, in devising means to render him comfortable, in this, his adopted land. Lest I should make any mistake, or unwillingly pervert the sense of the resolution, so as to make it answer my own private purposes, to avoid even the possibility of suspicion, I am induced to give it to the public *verbum verbo*:—

“Resolved, That the people of this Province, have always shewn themselves ready to welcome and receive as brethren, those of their fellow subjects, who having quitted the United Kingdom, or its dependencies, have chosen this Province as their home, and have earnestly endeavoured, as far as on them depended, to afford every facility to their participating in the political advantages, and in the means of rendering their industry available, which the people of this Province enjoy; and to remove for them the difficulties arising from the vicious system adopted by those who have administered the government of the Province, with regard to those portions of the country in which the new comers have generally chosen to settle.

Good gracious! was there ever such a falsehood, propagated by men, calling themselves honorables, or erroneously assuming pretensions to the name!!! Hear this resolution,

read it, ponder well on its contents, you Irish emigrants, who have been chased like robbers and murderers from the shores of Canada, and driven into forests, to live like savages, in a rude and uncultivated state of uncivilized barbarity. Do they want to impose on the good sense of the enlightened and well-informed of my countrymen, by imposing on them this foul and groundless calumny. I now offer them the direful alternative of coming forward, and prove by facts, the truth of this resolution; or, suffer themselves to lie under the imputation of falsely asserting what their conscience told them was not true. I fear a sense of their guilt, will render it imperative on them to be quiet on this head. I impeach them with a gross and infamous falsehood. if they are unimpeachable characters, let them not ignobly shrink from the contest. If they show a single act of their lives to correspond with this resolution, I will instantly declare them innocent of the imputations that now lie at their doors; if not, I shall have them summoned to the bar, and convicted of a wilful and malicious assault upon the sacred majesty of unerring truth.

After giving the subject matter of this resolution, a rational and impartial investigation, I conclude, that Mr. Papineau must be easily convinced of the absurdity of his doctrine; and, under this presumption, we shall come to close quarters and fight the battle sword in hand. Well, Sir, either your arguments are true or false: if true, I am grossly in error, by accusing you of slanderous misrepresentations; if false, you are in error, by attempting to bring us in debtors for merchandize we have not yet received. You, Sir, have proposed, and attempted to establish the proposition, namely, that the people of this Province, I mean the Canadians of this Province, have shewn themselves ready, to receive as brethren those who have quitted their native land, and selected this as the land of their adoption. I deny the proposition, and thereby throw the *ONUS PROBANDI* ON YOUR SHOULDERS; but to divest you of a burthen, too heavy to be borne by a man of your delicate constitution I shall not press on you for a

proof. I will content myself by simply asking, what is the condition of these emigrants when they land on your shores? I will answer for you, Sir, by stating, that if they are friendless and moneyless, they are suffered to scramble through the streets with hunger and poverty staring them in the face. It is notorious, Sir, that neither you, nor your associates in the soundings for revolution, have gone to the shore, and proffered the hand of friendship to the friendless stranger. You have not taken him to your house, and afforded him the protection and comfort of your dwelling. Have you got up public institutions, for the purpose of employing the poor, yet industrious emigrants? Have you appointed any of these creatures your domestics, through favour or affection?

In a word, have you distributed any portion of your seigniories, to be tilled, cultivated, and brought to an arable state of perfection, by those emigrants, whose professed friends you have declared yourselves; but whose real and determined enemies you have, unfortunately, proved yourselves to be? These little favours are not only common amongst brothers, but even amongst friendly strangers or neighbours; and can you accuse yourselves of having performed even the slightest of them? No—you can bless your stars, and thank your God, that you are free, and innocent of the accusation. But you can, perhaps, still establish your proposition, by proving that your Canadian brethren, at least, welcome the emigrants amongst them. This I must admit; for I must confess, that I never, in the course of my life, beheld a more condescending people; to speak truly, they rival each other in their uncalled for attention to the new comers. But for what purpose, think you? To extract from their pockets, by the most unparalleled imposition, perhaps their very last dollar!!

But you have completely crowned the work of desolation, and riveted the coping stone on the structure of their misery, by opposing the grant for the support of the English Hospital. If such be the case, you will carry the curse of poverty with you to the grave.

Recollect, that it is not the government you oppose, when you raise to the ground this edifice of charity. No—you oppose the widow, the orphan, the destitute and forlorn of each sex; who, when visited by the hand of Providence—stretched on the bed of sickness, destitute of all earthly comforts—make this hospital their asylum from famine and danger. Shall you cast these creatures, bending under the weight of poverty and sickness, on the waves of the world, to sink or swim, as fortune may determine.

I say, if you do this, your fate will be worse than theirs; for they, I hope, will be reserved for a better end; but you, I fear, will have reason to tremble for the consequences. Moreover, your names will be handed down to posterity, and identified with the names of the tyrants of by-gone days, and your busts shall be set up in the streets, the church yards, and all public places, as so many monuments of public odium and private detestation; so that future generations may have an opportunity of beholding with contempt, and treating with scorn, the living persons of Canada's tyrants, represented, as it were, by the inanimate statues of the oppressors of their fathers' rights. If you, therefore, value your reputation, and dread these consequences, use timely precaution—that you may preserve the one, and avert the other.

To return to my subject. It is evident that Mr. P. and the resolutionists have, with a degree of turpitude unparalleled in the annals of parliamentary history, put forth statements, sufficient to brand them, in the eyes of the nations of the earth, as men of little faith, and voracious of the world's vain applause. But I hope the world will acquit me of censure, and admit, that I have not dealt uncharitably with men who would fain make tools of us, to serve their base end. It is not in the nature of an Irishman to suffer himself to be buffeted and spit on with impunity; but he is always ready to acknowledge a kindness, and requite it, with the best homage of his gratitude and affection; but never will he put up with an insult, from whatever quarter it comes.

I cannot perceive what were their motives in concocting and publishing to the world these resolutions. Was it to redress the political grievances of the country, and expose the government, for a partial administration? If so, they may command my exertions in the holy cause; for I can assure them, that it will be to me a most grateful duty to join in the political manumission of the children of the province. But I am happy to find that the good sense of the government has precluded the necessity of my intervention; for the people are as free as their rulers.

If such were the object of the resolutions, they at once prove the framers of them the most stupid set of men that ever sat in council, or guided the helm of any constitution. Their opinions, their evidences and statements clash, confound and annihilate each other. They are (if I may be allowed the similitude) like a well made up prostitute, who vends her foul and artificial evidence, and for money consents to swear away the life of an innocent, unsuspecting youth; at the first onset, standing before the court, with all the brazenness of a strumpet depicted in her countenance, she shows off with all the flippancy of her training; she is at length handed over to the advocates of innocence, who put her through the fiery ordeal of a cross-examination; at that moment truth fails her, the lie quivers on her lip, and she is instantly convicted of false swearing, by the conflicting testimony of her evidence. Such is the case with these gentlemen; they, at one time, complain of political grievances; at another, they contradict themselves, by statements contradictory of the former. I shall not subject to a cross-examination the schemers of these resolutions, in order to prove the weakness of their judgment and the insensibility of their arguments; for this purpose it will be quite sufficient to quote the following clause of the former resolution:—"And have earnestly endeavoured, as far as on them depended, to afford every facility to their participating in the political advantages; and the means of rendering their industry available—which the people of this province enjoy."

Here they proclaim the political privileges of the people, and the comforts derivable from these privileges; and why, in the name of common sense, do these men declare, almost in the same breath, that the people are deprived of their political rights, and labour under political wrongs? Any man of judgment, who reads these resolutions, must naturally conclude, with me, that their actuating principle is not founded on justice. No—it is self-interestedness, stimulated by the insatiable thirst of a boundless and hellish ambition. It is evident they are pursuing a different line of policy to that which they would have us believe is intended to promote our interest. I, for one, do not believe them. I despise their professions of friendship and interestedness for us. I will continue to hold the maligners of our national honour in the utmost contempt, till they come forward, like men of principle, and declare, in the face of the world, that they have wilfully and designedly assailed our honour, and indecorously sported with our character. It may, perhaps, be asserted that I am trifling with their reputation, and attributing to them statements and language which they have never used. But, to put the matter beyond cavil or doubt, I will submit to the public an extract of a speech said to be delivered by Mr. Rodier at L'Assomption, in the year 1832, which will bear me out in my statements, and justify me in my denunciations, of these base calumniators:—

“When I see my country in mourning, and my native land presenting to my eye nothing but one vast cemetery, I ask, what has been the cause of all these disasters?—and the voice of my father, my brother and my beloved mother—the voices of thousands of my fellow-citizens—respond from their tombs, it is emigration. It was not enough to send amongst us avaricious egotists, without any other spirit of liberty than could be bestowed by a simple education of the counter, to enrich themselves at the expense of the Canadians, and then endeavour to enslave them—they must also rid themselves of their beggars, and cast them by thousands on our shores; they must send us miserable beings, who, after having partaken of the bread of our children, will subject them to the horrors of hunger and misery; they must do still more—they must send us, in their train, pestilence and death. If I pre-

sent to you so melancholy a picture of the condition of this country, I have to encourage the hope that we may yet preserve our nationality, and avoid those future calamities, by opposing a barrier to this torrent of emigration. It is only in the House of Assembly we can place our hopes, and it is only in the choice the Canadians make in their elections they can ensure the preservation of their rights and political liberties."

I now appeal to the world, whether I have commented severely or not on men who, reckless of the nobler feelings of humanity, assume those of brutality, and prove themselves unworthy the society of their fellow-citizens, by giving expression to sentiments repugnant even to savage nature. Did I ever hear such language fall from the lips of any mortal? Indeed, Mr. R.'s speech is a sad specimen of Canadian feelings towards us; but, as I hope for mercy, I hope such are not the feelings of all, nor of the greater portion, of our Canadian brethren. There are Canadians, I know, who are kind companions, good friends, and faithful subjects. There are men amongst them whose morality and virtue, if equalled, cannot be surpassed by any; they possess not only those shadowy virtues which custom hangs round with eulogy—not only the generosity which relieves—the sympathy which feels—the affability which endears—the justice which does no injury—they possess those virtues which the wisdom of the saints deemed the sole claims of future happiness. Chastity that shrinks from the slightest danger of contagion—fervour, that lives on prayer—compunction, that feeds on tears—severity, that is cruel to self-love; charity, that stints nature to supply the wants of poverty; these, and many other substantial virtues, of heavenly origin, do these men possess.

It would, therefore, be an act of injustice to identify these men with such a man as Rodier. Happy, indeed, would it be for the Canadian honour, that the public press suppressed this speech of Mr. R.; and thrice happy would it be for himself, had his tongue at that moment refused its office; he would not now behold his character, painted in its true colours, set forth to the world, to be scanned by the eye of

scorn. Perhaps the public journals have not correctly reported his speech; but I doubt it much—for if they have attributed to him sentiments which were not his, why did he not come forward and contradict them. This is a sufficient proof, and a convincing one too, that he is the author of the speech attributed to him, in which he expressed his horror of emigration. Let us now compare this extract with the third of the ninety-two resolutions, and we shall thereby judge how far we can rely on the candour and professions of the majority of the House of Assembly. The third resolution expressly specifies the willingness of the Canadians to promote and foster emigration. Mr. R. declares that it is only in the House of Assembly, and by the choice the Canadians make in their elections, that emigration can be effectually annihilated.

Yes—I concur in opinion with Mr. R., that it is in the power of the House to destroy the effects of emigration, by opposing every act of the Legislature that might be calculated to encourage labour and industry. But, let me ask, has it put its power into execution? Yes, it has. For Mr. Papineau and the majority have conspired to render labour and industry unavailable to the poor yet honest emigrant. They opposed the public grants, which were to be appropriated to the erection of public works; they opposed them on this principle, and on this principle only—that they might realise Mr. R.'s threats. They reasonably foresaw the impracticability of attempting to pass a law to this effect; they knew that they could not, by any legal and constitutional means, prevent his Majesty's loyal subjects from emigrating into this little corner of his dominions, which is only as a spot on the disc of the sun. At the same time they rationally concluded that they could render it a perfect nonentity, by causing the public works to be suspended, which are the stay and the staff of the emigrant's hopes. This is the reason they opposed the grants for the erection and extension of the Montreal wharfs; they were in dread that the Irish emigrants should, of necessity, be employed, and, consequently, induced to stop in the city.

But no, said they, we will not suffer them ; we will chase them from our shores, and drive them, like a set of barbarians, into the forests, to pine beneath the weight of misery, consequent on new and moneyless settlers. But, to effect this, it will be necessary for the Canadians to stand by us ; for, unless we shall have a packed house, and an overwhelming majority, we can never carry our schemes into operation. We will meet powerful opposition ; the favourers of emigration, and the protectors of the rights of men, will, like birds of prey, pounce upon us, and bury us, in silent oblivion, beneath the weight of their mighty influence. This is the eternal language of a corrupt, venal and unprincipled conventicle—it is the language of petty tyranny, emanating from a vicious and perverted mind.

But behold the audacity ! the unparalleled impudence of these men ! behold their impious and flagitious conduct ! behold their base hypocrisy, their infamous intrigues, and the blood-stained snares which they have set for us ! Not content with their own immediate forces, they wish to enlist us, and make us participators in the crime. They want to besmear us with the blood of our friends, by uniting us in the unholy crusade against them. Yes—they wish to make us a link in the chain that is to stop up the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and oppose the arrival, perhaps, of the dearest pledges of our existence. Shall we be thus made the instruments, in the hands of others, to torture our friends, and compel them, with mournful hearts, to re-plough the fathomless ocean, and seek for shelter in some other climate ? No, never !—for then, indeed, would we be esteemed the degenerate sons of Erin ; the plains of Egypt would rise up, and pronounce us unworthy of the name of Irishmen. The plains of Egypt will remain, to the end of time, the record of the courage and valour of Irishmen—there they waded their way to victory's goal, and crowned themselves with immortal fame.

Nothing that I have ever read of equals in magnitude the glaring absurdity of Mr. R.'s calumny on the Irish character ; though the world, I may say, could bear testimony

to our magnanimity—still, Mr. R., in the language of vindictiveness, would contend with the world, and prove us to be nothing more or less than insensate monsters; or, in other words, a devouring pestilence, clothed in human shape. Yes—he has been graciously pleased to designate us pauper emigrants, who carry death, pestilence and famine in our train. I wonder what opinion will our transatlantic friends form of Mr. R., when they read these sentiments? Will they look on him as a civilized citizen? I protest I know not; but this I know—if they are to judge of his birth by his sentiments, they will be naturally impelled to conclude that a man capable of such feelings must be brought forth in a lion's den, nurtured by a gentle tigress, debarred all social intercourse with society, until he was let loose on the nation, to subvert the moral and social harmony of society.

Such, indeed, would be their conclusion, and will any man dare to say that it would be more than a just inference. I must drop the subject, my countrymen—I resign it into your keeping; treat it as you may think proper; the insult is at your doors—suffer it to lie there, or repel it with scorn. Had he vented the choler of his rage on me, by plunging his poignard in my breast, I could forgive him; but an attempt to take away a nation's fame, a nation's honour and a nation's glory, can neither be forgiven nor forgotten.

I shall now take my leave of these gentlemen, and hope they may conduct themselves in future so as not to give umbrage to any portion of my countrymen, particularly the working classes of them; for these are the classes that are most insulted and imposed on, by a set of knaves, who make their innocence serve as the passport to the completion of their ambitious passions.

I shall keep a watchful eye over them. I have at all times advocated the poor man's cause. I have taken my stand in the ranks of the people—I fought by their side; I will stand in their ranks, and fight their political battles, even at the bayonet's point or the cannon's mouth. But I will say to you, my brave labourers, labour away—eat the bread

of industry, and drink not the cup of scandal, which so many of those, who call themselves the higher order, quaff in large potations, to their own disgrace, and your disedification. I shall always hold myself ready to protect your rights and avenge your wrongs; at the same time, I must advise you not to suffer yourself to be made the dupes or tools of any man, or any body of men. Too true it is, my friends, that there are men amongst us who take on themselves to direct and govern the labourers of Montreal. And why? Is it from their superior knowledge? No—for they are as ignorant as ignorance could make them. Is it from their placid disposition, or the soundness of their judgment? No—for they are as irritable as a cancer, and as stupid as an anvil. The reason is simply this—because fortune has blessed them with affluence, such as their ancestors never enjoyed, and which they themselves never expected.

We will not suffer ourselves to be governed by such men; their rashness may prove our ruin—yes, it might lead us to destruction; for ignorance and rashness are not to be depended on, as unerring guides, in the dreary and difficult paths of life. These men, it is true, may consider themselves entitled to some degree of influence, in consequence of their little wealth; but I am of an opinion that riches, particularly when governed by ignorance, should have no influence whatsoever on common sense.

We have, my friends, been too frequently deceived by this maxim of the political world, “follow such a politician’s counsel, and you will find it your interest.” We have, perhaps, reason to bewail our too ready compliance with the suggestions of this base maxim. It has in many cases armed our benefactors against us, and robbed our families of the bread of existence. It has cast a melancholy gloom over our fortune, and exposed the spotless purity of our children to be transformed into shameless and incorrigible vice. Oh, yes! they may live but to curse the hour they were born, through time and eternity. Will we doom them to this end? If we do, we will be guilty of their blood, and shall stand before

the awful tribunal of Heaven, chargeable with the perdition of those whom we are bound, both by the law of God and the law of nature, to protect from the varieties of abomination originating from the polluted source of filth and sensuality, the consequences of human misery.

Such is the doom—the awful doom—that too often awaits female innocence, when robbed of its protection. How often have we not beheld pure and spotless virtue, ornamented by the plastic hand of education, plunge into the horrible gulph of iniquity, and become the putridinous receptacle of the more beastly passions of a lustful world. Will we, I say again, consign these forms of angelic purity, that we now behold basking in the sunshine of innocence, to the direful alternative of taking their stand in the wo-worn paths of infamy, to hawk and vend that chastity which at this moment nobly shrinks from the ideal danger that could tarnish their virgin modesty? or will we, by our rashness, suffer them to starve in the hovel of misery, buried under the calamities of human wretchedness?

This is, indeed, irrelative matter; however, I must be excused—my feelings have worked me into it, the subject has forced it on me. The numerous examples of this kind that we witness every day—yes, the example of those vices which we every day behold sally forth from the lap of innocence into the bed of abomination—is appalling and heart-rending to the human soul.

We shall not doom our children to these fatal consequences—we shall at least be guiltless of their blood. But, to protect them from these fatalities, we must leave nothing undone to procure for them the necessary comforts of life. But how can we obtain the necessary comforts, if we turn our benefactors against us—who may instantly disemploy us, and, consequently, deprive us of the means of existence?

I am not going to enquire who are our benefactors or employers. No—for we all know that they are the capitalists of the country, men of enterprising genius, whose capital is always on float, that all may benefit by it, whilst their hopes

and expectations turn on the pivot of its destiny, equally subject to loss or gain, as fortune may determine. Let us, therefore, look round, and examine who are the men of business, of capital, and mercantile pursuits; and whoever they may be, they are our benefactors, our employers, and, consequently, our friends. And, on this principle, society, and the mercantile world at large, have to mourn the loss of the late Mr. Gates, whose capital floated like bubbles on the water, and was wafted to the most distant shores of Europe. He always extended the hand of friendship to the friendless—he cherished industry, fostered integrity, and rewarded merit—he raised many from humble stations to a comparative state of independence—his house was a perfect asylum for strangers—in a word, he might be justly styled the father of the fatherless, the comforter of the disconsolate, and the benefactor of mankind. I hope he now receives the reward of his merits in the happy enjoyment of a blessed immortality.

Such men, indeed, can be called our benefactors; and will we turn such men against us by our political absurdities? No—we shall not, nor we will not, For a sense of gratitude on the one hand, and a sense of justice to our families on the other, should restrain us from the act, were we even bent on its perpetration. We will endeavour to discharge our duty with fidelity towards our employers; by which means they will become more interested in our welfare, and will not be backward in promoting our interest. For the faithful discharge of our duty, it will be incumbent on us to avoid all intercourse with the political world, and the flummery politicians of the day.

We have been always faithful and loyal subjects; we have ranged under the eagles, and fought and conquered under the banners of our KING AND CONSTITUTION. We will still prove ourselves loyal, by obeying the glorious impulse of patriotism alone, which calls on us to renounce all emblems, and to reject the society of all, as traitors to their country, who are not prepared to fight under the banners of the British Constitution, in defence of the King and the throne.

Let peace, order and good government have our steadiest and unfeigned support; they are the bulwark of all social happiness. Be not, my friends, deceived by the humbugging cant of bondage and oppression, issuing from the den of disaffection, and industriously kept alive by inflammatory publications; but oppose, by every nerve of your strength, every system of insubordination, that, if tolerated, would prove unrivalled in the annals of the history of the civilised world. Let not that unworthy spirit, too prevalent among mankind, creep into your hearts, which, from mere motives of personal animosity to the powers that be, would favour the unhappy cause of treason and defection. Let the scenes—the atrocious scenes—that have passed in such quick and rapid succession in another nation, and which will stain, to the end of time, the records of human nature—let them, I say, teach the people of this province to value, as they ought, the inviolable constitution with which God has blessed them. They are grossly mistaken if they suppose that the discontented portion of the community, in whose hearts, I fear, the love of God hath never been enkindled, have any other motive in their insatiable thirst for innovation, save the destruction of that Constitution, too solid, I hope, to be shaken by the fulminating storms of the anti-royalists.

Let me, my countrymen, once more, ere I conclude, impress on your minds the necessity—the awful necessity—of attending to your interest—to the promotion and comfort of your families. But you cannot do this if you suffer yourselves to be carried away by the specious arguments of political declaimers. I, therefore, call on you, in the name of every thing that is dear to you in life—I call on you in the name of your children—to abandon the idea of mixing, for the future, in the political cabals of interested and designing men. I have already pointed out to you the disadvantages of such conduct. Woful experience has, in too many instances, proved these disadvantages to be destructive to the peace, comfort and happiness of our families.

As an intoxicated man sees nothing to obstruct the full completion of his desires, whilst in the state of inebriation ; but as soon as the fever of the intoxicating bowl subsides, he finds his confidence shaken, his hopes mere dreams, and, in fine, his eyes open to the destitute circumstance of his condition ; he then, in pensive silence, reflects on his folly, and gives way to the bitter anguish that torments his soul. We, in like manner, when we give way to the impulse of electioneering madness, have, of course, some wild political scheme in view, or we are only hurried away by the deafening shouts of the multitude ; and, at that moment, we become dead to our own interest—we despise the counsel of our friends—we not only not support, but insult our best benefactors, and involve ourselves and families in one common ruin. The mischief is now done—we witness its evil effects—we mourn over its ruins—and, like the intoxicated man, when the fever of the times is gone by, we give way to the remorse of conscience that torments our souls ; we behold, when too late, the evils we have brought on ourselves ; we behold deep-rooted despair depicted in the countenance of our children, and extorting from them the language of imprecation against us, for reducing them to the heart-rending alternatives already described.

If we expose them to this wretched end, what will be our doom ? Our hope of mercy, indeed, will be vain ; yes—we have the word of God for saying, vain will be our hope of mercy if we stand before his tribunal chargeable with the perdition of any human creature ; and how much more vain will it be, if we stand chargeable with the blood of our own children !

In conclusion, my countrymen, I call on you to preserve, at least, your children from the contagion of a corrupted world, by resolutely opposing the counsel of those who would, for their own purpose, lead you again into the broad field of politics, and abandon you to the evils arising from a spirit of disappointed ambition. We are called strangers and foreigners ; if we are strangers and foreigners, it will behove us to

act as such ; for it is the duty of a stranger to mind his own business, and interfere not with that of his neighbour.

It is said that there is a portion of the wealth and influence of this city hostile to our interest. If such be the case, and I doubt it much, it may be our own fault ; perhaps our former conduct might have merited their disapprobation ; if so, we are to blame ourselves. Let us change our political conduct—let us, for the future, pass by the hustings, as we do at present the city bank, with which we have, unfortunately, nothing to do, in the shape of money transactions. If you but conduct yourselves in this manner, you will not have cause to complain ; you will act in conformity with the wishes and interest of your families ; you will please your friends, dissipate your enemies, and avert the consequences already alluded to.

This is the line of policy I would have my countrymen pursue—this is the only policy that can effectually secure their independence in the country. It is this—and this alone—that can render us happy, and raise us to a level with our fellow-citizens. May we live to practice, and enjoy, the happy effects of this policy, in whose bosom a generation shall arise, whose virtues and loyalty shall drown the recollection of these unhappy days ; increase the glory and prosperity of this province—the inalienable attachment to the King and Constitution ; and, individually, their own happiness here and hereafter.

A CATHOLIC IRISHMAN.

APPENDIX.

This appendix I should not have introduced, were I not called on, in justification of my political opinions, to give to the public extracts taken from various Canadian writers and orators, which will, undoubtedly, exculpate me from the censure of misrepresenting this portion of the community. I have already advanced my sentiments with regard to the line of conduct I would have the honest, industrious mechanics and labourers pursue. It rests, however, with yourselves, my friends, whether you will act on my suggestions or not. It is true, you have a right to the free exercise of the political franchise, which the statute laws of the country invest you with; but should you avail yourselves of the exercise of this privilege, it will behove you to make it serve as a defensive weapon against the attacks of the enemy. You cannot be ignorant of the enemy, inasmuch as they are already pointed out to you.

Before I introduce the extracts alluded to, I cannot pass unnoticed the reply of his Excellency the Governor. It breathes throughout a spirit of the warmest affection for his Majesty's *British subjects*. He seems to regret the mischievous and malicious appellation given to emigrants *from the United Kingdom*, by the Canadians. He deprecates the idea of having them called foreigners. He justly remarks—"to be addressed as a foreigner, whilst treading the soil of a *British colony*, must sound strangely in the ears of a *BRITISH SUBJECT*;" he further adds, "THAT IN EVERY QUARTER OF THE GLOBE, WHERE THE *BRITISH FLAG* WAVES OVER HIS HEAD, A *BRITISH SUBJECT* IS ALWAYS AT HOME."

These sentiments, indeed, are worthy the respect, gratitude and affection of every loyal subject, and will, I am sure, be treasured up in the minds and hearts of Irishmen, as an inestimable gift, coming from one of Erin's most noble and dignified sons. I, as an Irishman, return him my most unmeasured gratitude and affection, so justly due to his unshaken and steady principles; and hope he may live to feel,

and give expression to those noble sentiments, which cannot fail to crown him with the laurels of immortal glory. This reference I have introduced, not, indeed, by way of complimenting his Excellency, for the paternal care with which he watches over the rights of his people—but to show that not only all classes of his Majesty's *British* subjects feel the insult, but that even our most gracious *Sovereign*, through his representative, *his Excellency*, recognizes the unkindly feelings entertained by the Canadians towards this portion of his subjects; and expresses the hope of their speedy extinction. It is gratifying to learn that his Excellency takes an interest in our well-being, and that, if we are ill-treated, it is not to be attributed to the representative of his Majesty, nor the *government of the province*. I shall, without farther remarks, give the extracts alluded to—which will bear me out in my remarks on the line of conduct practised by our Canadian, I will not say enemies, but friends, if you will.

"The settlers from Great Britain and Ireland, however, are fast teaching the Canadian people the degree of misery existing in other lands; the squalid appearance, the filth and destitution, of the shoals of miserable beings annually imported from the Mother Country, are beginning to be familiar in Canada. The constant exhibition of the disgusting spectacle has put the existence of this misery in other places out of doubt—though, thanks to our good fortune, it is still, and I hope will long be, unexperienced by my countrymen."

A very ingenious, though somewhat wicked appellation, has been given by the Canadians to the poorest part of the emigrants: they call them *BAS DE SOIE*, from their not having, nor ever choosing to wear stockings. It is quite usual to hear—" *Tiens, voilà une cargaison de Bas de Soie qui arrive*," when a great number of emigrants are seen on board of a ship coming into port.

Extract of a Speech delivered by Mr. Kodier, in 1832.

"When I see my country in mourning, and my native land presenting to my eye nothing but one vast cemetery, I ask, what has been the cause of all these disasters?—and the voice of my father, my brother and my beloved mother—the voices of thousands of my fellow-citizens—respond from their tombs, it is emigration. It was not enough to send amongst us avaricious egotists, without any other spirit of liberty than could be bestowed by a simple education of the counter, to enrich themselves at the expense of the Canadians, and then endeavour to enslave them—they must also rid themselves of their beggars, and cast them by thousands on our shores; they must send us miserable beings, who, after having partaken of the bread of our children, will subject them to the horrors of hunger and misery; they must do still more—they must send us, in their train, pestilence and death. If I present to you so melan-

choly a picture of the condition of this country, I have to encourage the hope that we may yet preserve our rationality, and avoid those future calamities, by opposing a barrier to this torrent of emigration. It is only in the House of Assembly we can place our hopes, and it is only in the choice the Canadians make in their elections they can ensure the preservation of their rights and political liberties."

SPIRIT OF THE FACTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINERVE.

"All the professions of paternal affection for the colonists are empty sounds, without sense or meaning, and in which we have no faith."—No. 104, 9th January, 1832.

"The people will endeavour to obtain a redress of the grievances by the constitutional means which they have adopted, though with little success hitherto; and if those means fail, they will then determine what they have to do."

"Canadians! think of the fate which the Acadians, descended like you from the French, experienced from the hands of the British government. Will you submit to the same doom from the hands of the English."

THE TWENTY-FIRST OF MAY.

"We have still some confidence in the tribunals of justice and his Majesty's government. We must, in the first instance, appeal to those—Heaven will do the remainder."

Resolutions adopted by the Meeting held at the village of Debartzsch, St. Charles, 30th July, 1832.

8th Resolution—"That the spirit of the English Constitution, and reason itself, demonstrate, that to a Colonial Legislature alone belongs the exclusive right of regulating its internal affairs, for the advantage of the colony, and for the greater security of the protecting government."

9th—"That although the Imperial government, in various despatches to the administrators of this colony, recognized the truth and justice of the foregoing resolution, the *habitans* of the country have become alarmed by an attempt recently made by the ministry of granting to a company of rich capitalists, strangers to the interests of the country, a large portion of the wild lands of the crown, without consulting the Colonial Legislature—which, according to its constitution, ought alone to have the management of those lands, which have been twice preserved to the Mother Country, at the price of the blood of the children of the soil, (*au prix du sang des enfans du sol.*)

10th—"That, in consequence, this meeting approves, in toto, the wise resolutions adopted at the meeting of the county of the Lake of Two Mountains, with respect to the said uncultivated lands of the crown."

12th—"That whatever may be the policy of Great Britain, in sending such considerable numbers from her superabundant population to her American colonies—nevertheless it is certain, that such excessive emigrations are dangerous and burthensome, particularly

to those colonies where such emigrants land; and who frequently bring with them nothing but their evils—extreme poverty and pestilential diseases, requiring assistance from the provincial treasury, and the commiseration of charitable persons—which becomes an indirect tax imposed upon this country by Great Britain.

13th—‘That England will ever have to justify herself for having allowed such an extensive emigration, at a time when she was dreadfully affected with cholera, which by that means was introduced into this colony, (the climate of which is the most healthy in America) and spread desolation and mourning over the land.’

Resolution adopted by a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the County of Two Mountains.

1st—‘Resolved, on motion of Jacob Barcelo, Esquire, seconded by J. B. Dumouchelle, Esquire—That, by the law of nature, the waste lands in this province ought to be the exclusive property of his Majesty’s Canadian subjects, desirous of settling upon the same.

Meeting at Chambly, July 9, 1832.

11th Resolution—‘The disregard of our rights, and the repeated denials of justice on the part of England, have tended to the rescision of the contract which exists between her and us. Our attachment to the English Constitution ought to induce us to await the result of further petitions.’

From the Minerve of the 16th instant.

“MR. EDITOR,

“In examining with an attentive eye what is passing around us, it is easy to convince oneself that our country is placed in very critical circumstances, and that a revolution will perhaps be necessary to place it in a more natural and less precarious situation. A constitution to remodel, a nationality to maintain—these are the objects which at present occupy all Canadians.

“It may be seen, according to this, that there exists here two parties, of opposite interest and manners—the Canadians and the English. These first-born Frenchmen have the habits and character of such. They have inherited from their fathers a hatred to the English; who, in their turn, seeing in them the children of France, detest them. These two parties can never unite, and will not always remain tranquil; it is a bad amalgamation of interests, of manners, of language and of religion, which sooner or later must produce a collision. It is sufficiently believed that a revolution is possible, but it is thought to be far off; as for me, I think it will not be delayed. Let them consider well these words of a great writer, and they will no longer treat a revolution, and a separation from the Mother Country, as a chimera: ‘The greatest misfortune for man politically,’ says he, ‘is to obey a foreign power; no humiliation, no torment of the heart can compare to this. The subjected nation, at least if she be not protected by some extraordinary law, ought not to obey this sovereign. However, no nation will obey another, for this simple of all reasons, that no nation would know how to command another. Observe the most enlightened people, and the best governed in their own country, and you will see them absolutely divested of their wisdom, and no longer resembling them-

selves, so soon as there is question of governing others. The spirit of domination being innate in man, the desire to make it felt is not less natural. The foreigner, who comes to command in a subjected country, and in the name of a distant sovereign, instead of informing himself of the national ideas for the purpose of conforming to them, seems too often to study them only to thwart them. He thinks himself more master, in proportion as he is more violently supported. He mistakes hauteur for dignity, and seems to think this dignity better attested by the indignation which he excites than by the benedictions which he might have obtained.' Is not this the policy which the English have always followed since the cession?

"It is generally thought that by the abolition of the Council, or by rendering it elective, a remedy might be applied to the political uneasiness which presses upon the country; but it is an error. The same men will still remain, and the Canadians will still be excluded from office—because the administrator of the country will still be English; our political condition will not become more settled, because the crafty policy of England will not be more honest and more frank. When, wearied by the excesses of a tyrant, we cast our complaints at the foot of the throne against the composition of the Councils, the unequal and odious distribution of places, it was promised to apply a remedy; nevertheless, what are they who at present compose the councils? The English. What are they who fill the places? The English. Again—it is only after waiting three years that they have thought of replying to us; and the reply is an insult.

"The minister admits the justice of our complaints, assures us of his desire to see peace and happiness reign in Canada; and yet, during a whole year, the people have not been able to obtain justice against a man tainted by public opinion, and accused of the most odious crimes; perhaps he may come back triumphant. Let us say it openly, the administration deceives us. The last despatch, the civil list, the batch of councillors, must convince us of this. But the people, perceiving that their complaints are despised, and that the happiness of a nation is sacrificed to the pride of a few individuals, will do themselves justice. Hitherto the Canadians have been moderate and patient, but they are wearied of being injured and calumniated. If they are not worth English horses or dogs, they ought to seek the alliance of a people who will consider them as their equals. I repeat it, an immediate separation from England is the only means of preserving our nationality. Some time hence, when emigration shall have made our adversaries our equals in number, more daring and less generous, they will deprive us of our liberties, or we shall share the same fate as our unhappy countrymen the Acadians. Believe me this is the fate reserved for us, if we do not hasten to make ourselves independent.

"Shut against foreigners, Canada exhausts itself for the London merchants. The Colonial system tends not only to impoverish a country, but has a still more odious aim, that of disuniting it, by sowing the seeds of division; the metropolis hopes to preserve still longer that superiority of force which is so necessary to the exercise of her tyranny. The instructions given to Sir J. Kempt, to hold a doubtful balance between the two parties, were stamped by that infamous policy for which the Minister had doubtless dipped

into Machiavel. Now let them reflect well—this is not a question of policy—it comprehends our properties, our institutions, our language, our laws, our religion, and our liberty. S.
 “Montreal, 14th February, 1832.”

MY COUNTRYMEN,—I introduce, by way of postscript, an occurrence which has taken place since this little work was sent to press. It is one of an extraordinary nature. I have remarked, in the course of my observations, how indifferent, I will not say, but how opposed, the Canadians are to our interest in this province. Alas, my remarks have been too truly verified, by their base and hypocritical conduct to our worthy, honest and esteemed countryman, Mr. Turney. He had been elected, for the year past, one of the common council of the city, without any solicitation on the part of himself or his friends. At the late election of the said common council, the honourable gentlemen thought proper to reject him; and for what reason? because he is an honest Irishman. Not content with the insult offered to the Irish in the person of Mr. Turney—I say, not satisfied with the mere rejection of Mr. Turney—they attempted, but in vain, to get his consent to a newspaper report, specifying his free abdication; but he nobly and honourably rejected their hypocritical schemes, inasmuch as they were calculated to deceive the Irish, and still maintain them in their ranks. Let the Clique remember, that they have at length undeceived the Irish; and let them also bear in mind, that there is not an Irishman in the province who will not make Mr. T.’s case his own individual case, and repel the insult by every means in his power. Let me never hear them again talking of the unjust distribution of places, and accusing the government of partiality. What could any man speaking the English language expect from the Canadians, were they in power?

ERRATUM.

A few typographical inaccuracies have crept into this work, which, however, do not affect the author’s meaning.